

## Message Text

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FM AMCONSUL MILAN

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SUBJECT: PSI MILAN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS, APRIL 15-17, 1977

1. SUMMARY. SUPPORTERS OF CRAXI SECRETARYSHIP REMAINED CLEARLY IN CONTROL OF MILAN PROVINCIAL PSI AS EXPECTED. BUTY THEY AS WELL AS THEIR MORE LEFTIST COLLEAGUES, CAME OUT FOUR SQUARE AGAINST TANY RETURN TO COLLABORATION WITH DC AT NATIONAL LEVEL AND IN FAVOR OF GOVERNMENT OF LEFT. MORE MODERATE MAJORITY -- IT, TOO, TROUBLED BY FACTIONALISM -- DISTINGUISHED ITSELF FROM LEFTISTS PRIMARILY BY ADVOCATING DELIBERATE ADVANCE TOWARD "ALTERNATIVE OF LEFT " VIA "EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT" PHASE RATHER THAN HEADLONG RUSH INTO ALLIANCE WITH COMMUNISTS. ALTHOUGH RESULTS OF CONGRESS ALLOW PRO-CRAXI MAJORITY TO CONTINUE REJUVENATION CRAXI BEGAN LAST JULY, THEY ALSO MAKE CLEAR THAT THAT MAJORITY HAS HAD TO ADAPT ITSELF TO SENTIMENT WITHIN PARTY THAT IS INCREASINGLY ANTI-DC AND DETERMINED TO BE PART OF LEFTIST SUCCESS IN ITALY THAT MILAN SOCIALISTS HOPE WILL PARALLEL THAT WHICH IS OCCURRING IN FRANCE. END SUMMARY.

2. MILAN PSI PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF APRIL 15-17 WAS RAMBLING QUEST FOR UNITY WHICH FINISHED LESS HARMONIOUSLY THAN EXPECTED.

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IT SHOWED CONTINUED STRENGTH OF SUPPOSEDLY EXORCIZED PARTY FACTIONS AND REVEALED SUBSTANTIAL DISAGREEMENT ON HOW QUICKLY PSI OUGHT TO MOVE TOWARD "LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE" (PCI-PSI) GOVERNMENT IN ROME. ALTHOUGH CHARGES ABOUNDED THAT REAL WORK OF CONGRESS WAS BEING CONDUCTED IN BACK ROOMS AND THAT DELEGATES FROM THE STICKS WEREN'T ALL GETTING THEIR SAY, PUBLIC DEBATE WAS AMPLE AND SHARP. EXCHANGES MADE CLEAR THAT SOCIALISTS

SEE DC GAINING STRENGTH; THAT PARTY SENTIMENT, PARTICULARLY AT LOWER LEVELS, IS SOLIDLY AGAINST RETURN TO CENTER-LEFT ARRANGEMENT; AND THAT PSI FUTURE -- WHETHER IMMEDIATE GOAL BE EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT OR LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE -- IS SEEN TO INVOLVE BUILDING HEALTHY RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNISTS.

3. CONGRESS BEGAN WITH LARGE MAJORITY OF DELEGATES (ESTIMATED OVER 75 PERCENT) BEHIND PROVINCIAL SECRETARY NUCCIO ABBONDANZA, MINORITY (FEWER THAN 20 PERCENT) WITH DEPUTY AND EX-MAYOR OF MILAN ALDO ANIASI, AND REST -- TOO FEW TO GET EVEN ONE SEAT ON 61 MEMBER DIRECTIVE COMMITTEE THAT CONGRESS WAS TO SELECT -- DIVIDED AMONG THOSE LOCAL SECTIONS WHO SUBMITTED THEIR OWN PLATFORMS. ANIASI GROUP'S DECISION TO SUBMIT OWN LIST APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN CONTINUATION OF ANIASI'S RECENT MANUEVERING AGAINST CRAXI AT ROME LEVEL AND WAS DISMISSED BY MANY -- EVEN SOME LIKE ACHILLI WHOSE (LEFTIST) POSITION WAS CLOSE TO THAT PROCLAIMED BY ANIASI -- AS CYNICAL EFFORT AT SELF-PROMOTION.

4. WHATEVER ANIASI'S MOTIVATION, ISSUE ON WHICH DISPUTE TURNED AND WHICH BECAME THEME FOR ENTIRE CONGRESS WAS PSI NATIONAL STRATEGY. ANIASI CONTENDED THAT PARTY MUST BEGIN TO ACT CONCRETELY TO BRING ABOUT "LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE," WHICH IS PARTY'S ANNOUNCED GOAL AND WHICH HE ACCUSED MILAN MAJORITY -- AND ESPECIALLY "AUTONOMIST" COMPONENT INCLUDING MILAN MAYOR CARLO TOGNOLI, PROVINCIAL SECRETARY ABBONDANZA, AND LOMBARDY REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENT GIORGIO GANGI -- OF NOT TAKING SERIOUSLY ENOUGH. ANIASI TOLD CONGRESS THAT, IF PSI IS REALLY AGAINST HISTORIC COMPROMISE AND FOR LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE, MILAN SOCIALISTS MUST IN ALL CONSISTENCY PULL LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OUT OF LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS THAT INCLUDE DC, WITH LOMBARDY REGIONAL "OPEN GIUNTA" BEING PLACE TO START. WHEN VOTES WERE COUNTED, ANIASI GROUP HAD 18 PERCENT.

5. LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE QUESTION SOON PRODUCED SPLITS IN MAJORITY ITSELF (COMPRISING PRO-CRAXI AUTONOMISTS, EX DEMARTINIANI, AND LEFTIST LOMBARDIANI). DEPUTY MICHELE ACHILLI (LOMBARDIANO) TOLD ASSEMBLY EARLY ON THAT HE WAS WITHDRAWING HIS GROUP FROM MAJORITY, SUSTAINING THAT "OPEN GIUNTAS" (PCI IN MAJORITY BUT WITHOUT GIUNTA SEATS) HAVE OUTLIVED USEFULNESS AND THAT PSI MUST MOVE IMMEDIATELY TOWARD LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE. (THIS WAS ALSO ANIASI'S POSITION BUT THERE WAS TO BE NO MERGING OF TWO GROUPS. ACHILLI SAID ARCHLY OF ANIASI THAT ANYONE WISHING TO PLAY ROLE ON PARTY'S LEFT MUST HAVE RECORD OF CONSISTENCY.) IN THE END, ACHILLI'S DISSIDENTS GOT 17 PERCENT OF DELEGATE VOTE.

6. STILL ANOTHER GROUP DEMURRED -- BUT DID NOT DETACH ITSELF -- FROM MAJORITY POSITION. LOMBARDY REGIONAL SECRETARY GABRIELE

BACCALINI, EX-REGIONAL SECRETARY LUIGI VERTEMATI, AND NATIONAL VICE-SECRETARY MOSCA -- ALL OF FORMER DE MARTINO FACTION -- PUSHED POSITION THAT IT WOULD BE MISTAKE TO WITHDRAW FROM LOCAL ALLIANCES WITH DC, IN EFFECT BURNING ALL BRIDGES WITH THAT PARTY. VERTEMATI TOLD CONGRESS IT WAS WRONG TO BELIEVE THAT CENTER-LEFT HAD ACCOMPLISHED NOTHING AND TO REFUSE TO DRAW POSITIVE -- AS WELL AS NEGATIVE -- LESSONS FROM THAT PERIOD. BUT EVEN THIS GROUP'S LEADERS -- AS CLOSE TO DC AS ANY MILAN SOCIALIST DARES BE TODAY -- HAD TO PROTEST THAT NOTHING WAS FARTHER FROM THEIR MINDS THAN RETURN TO COLLABORATION WITH DC IN ROME.

7. MAIN QUESTION RAISED AT CONGRESS -- WHETHER TO PUSH FOR LEFTIST GOVERNMENT OR TO GO FIRST FOR EMERGENCY AGGANGEMENT -- WAS SERIOUS ONE FOR EMBATTLED SOCIALISTS. MAJORITY POSITION -- DELINEATED BY SECRETARY ABBONDANZA IN LEAD-OFF SPEECH AND LATER BY TOGNOLI, GANGI, AND CRAXI AIDE CLAUDIO MARTELLI-- LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WAS THAT, ALTHOUGH LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY REMAINS VALID ONE FOR PSI, NEXT STEP IS EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD EMBRACE ALL MAJOR PARTIES EXCEPT MSI AND DN. TOGNOLI, IN EFFECTIVE AND WELL-APPLAUDED REPLY TO ANIASI, ARGUED THAT LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE MUST BE DELIVERATE AND CAREFULLY PREPARED OUTCOME OF EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT PHASE. HE DEFENDED LOMBARDY REGIONA "OPEN" GIUNTA AS SOLUTION THAT GAVE PCI LARGER ROLE IN REGION THAN IT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE HAD. HE ARGUED THAT TO PULL OUT OF THIS EXPERIMENT NOW WOULD BE TO TAKE ALL-OR-NOTHING STAND FOR WHICH TIME WAS NOT RIPE. MOREOVER, IT WOULD BE INCONSISTENT TO DISSOLVE OPEN GIUNTAS NOW WHEN OFFICIAL PSI POSITION CALLED FOR SOMETHING SIMILAR -- EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT -- AT ROME LEVEL.

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8. MAJORITY POSITION DID NOT LACK FOR CRITICS. ANIASI AND COMPANY FIRED AWAY PREDICTABLY, CONTENDING THAT DC WAS BECOMING EVER MORE CONSERVATIVE, THAT PSI SHOULD COLLABORATE WITH IT NEITHER ON EMERGENCY BASIS IN ROME NOR IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS, AND THAT PSI AND PCI MUST BE READY WITH INSTITUTIONAL BASIS TO RESIST DC THREAT TO DISSOLVE PARLIAMENT AND PRESS FOR NEW ELECTIONS (SHOULD DC USE THIS CARD). UMBERTO DRAGONE, HIGHLY-RESPECTED CITY ALDERMAN AND FOLLOWER OF PSI LEFTIST RICCARDO LOMBARDI, RECALLED HIS FACTION'S LONG IMPATIENCE WITH CENTER-LEFT AND CALLED DC MORE UNSUITABLE THAN EVER. BUT HE DID NOT INTEND TO BREAK WITH MAJORITY AT TIME WHEN UNITY WAS NEEDED AND RETURN TO FACTIONS NOT.

9. IN THE END, POSITION OF MAJORITY (AUTONOMISTS AND DEMAR-TINIANI, ACHILLI LEFT-WING LOMBARDIANI HAVING SPLIT OFF) WON HANDILY BY GETTING SOME TWO-THIRDS OF DELEGATE VOTE. THAT MEANS THAT ABBONDANZA, ELECTED LATE LAST YEAR BY OUTGOING DIRECTIVE COMMITTEE, WILL STAY IN OFFICE.

10. DC TOOK BEATING AT CONGRESS, LESS BECAUSE OF ALLEGEDLY POOR DC PERFORMANCE DURING CENTER-LEFT YEARS THAN FOR WHAT MANY PARTICIPANTS SAW AS RECENT HARDENING OF DC HEARTS AGAINST LEFTIST PARTIES. DRAGONE, ANIASI, AND OTHERS CHARGED

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THAT DC WAS RETURNING TO ARROGANT WAYS AND THAT FORCES OF CONSERVATISM -- STIFFED BY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM PEOPLE LIKE DE CAROLIS, BUCALOSSI (MILAN PRI LEADER), AND CAPELLI -- (PLI NATIONAL VICE SECRETARY) -- WERE GIRDING UP FOR FRONTAL ATTACKS ON LEFT. IRONICALLY, ONE OF NICEST THINGS SAID ABOUT DC CAME FROM PCI MILAN PROVINCIAL SECRETARY RICCARDO TERZI, WHO BROUGHT HIS PARTY'S GREETINGS TO CONGRESS. HE CALLED DC "CONSERVATIVE BUT POPULAR" PARTY, CHARACTERIZATION WITH WHICH DRAGONE TOOK SHARP ISSUE. DC, ACCORDING TO DRAGONE, MAY HAVE

BEEN POPULAR PARTY IN DE GASPERI'S DAY BUT ITS RECORD SINCE 1950'S PUT IT SQUARELY IN CAMP OF CORRUPT BOSSES AND WILY INDUSTRIAL EXPLOITERS LIKE CEFIS.

11. EXPONENTS OF MAJORITY POSITION (EXCEPT DRAGONE WING OF LOMBARDIANI) WERE NOT SO HARSH ON DC BUT WIDESPREAD ANTI-DC SENTIMENT HAD THEM ON DEFENSIVE. TOGNOLI, FOR EXAMPLE,

SAID NEXT STEP FOR PSI HAD TO BE EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT WITHIN WHICH PARTY WOULD HAVE TO COOPERATE WITH DC. VERTEMATI, ALLOWING THAT DC HAD SHIFTED RECENTLY TO RIGHT, WARNED AGAINST TRYING TO CONSTRUCT STRATEGY BASED ON ANTI-DC FEELINGS. ABBONDANZA WAS MOST UPBEAT ON DC, CLAIMING IN HIS OPENING ADDRESS THAT MORO'S RECENT TALK IN FLORENCE SHOWED DC LESS RIGID REGARDING POSSIBLE AGREEMENT WITH OTHER PARTIES ON COMMON GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAM. BUT THIS PASSAGE WAS ATTACKED BY LEFTIST SPEAKERS AND ABBONDANZA'S SUPPORTERS LET MATTER LIE.

12. COMMUNISTS TOOK SOME LUMPS FROM PSI SPEAKERS, TOO, BUT ON WHOLE WERE NOT TREATED BADLY, ANOTHER INDICATION OF MILAN SOCIALISTS' OVERALL SHIFT TO LEFT  
MODERATE TREATMENT  
METED OUT TO PCI ALL THE MORE NOTABLE SINCE MILAN PCI SECRETARY TERZI HAD TOLD CONGRESS FIRST DAY THAT HIS PARTY NOT INTERESTED IN LEFTIST ALTERNATIVE BUT RATHER IN MORE AMPLE ALLIANCE, I.E., INCLUDING DC. THAT DID NOT DETER PSI LEFTISTS LIKE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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DRAGONE FROM SAYING THAT GOVERNMENT OF LEFT WAS PSI POSITION AND PSI INTENDED TO PUSH IT NO MATTER WHAT COMMUNISTS THOUGHT. EVEN AUTONOMISTS LIKE MILAN MAYOR TOGNOLI, WHOSE DISTRUST OF PCI IS WELL DEVELOPED, SPOKE OF NEED TO CONTINUE TO BUILD HEALTHY RELATIONSHIP WITH COMMUNISTS IN PREPARATION FOR DAY WHEN LEFTIST GOVERNMENT BECOMES REALITY.

13. CONCLUSION. MILAN CONGRESS, IN SUM, SHOWED SOCIALISTS IN COUNTRY'S MOST IMPORTANT PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATION TO BE BOXED IN INCREASINGLY BY EVENTS BUT TRYING TO MAKE BEST OF DIFFICULT SITUATION. MANY SOCIALISTS SAW LAST YEAR'S POOR ELECTION RESULTS AS WARNING TO STAY OUT OF ENTANGLING ALLIANCES WITH DC. ANY REMAINING DOUBTERS, I.E. AUTONOMIST AND DE MARTINO FACTIONS, WERE GIVEN FURTHER ENCOURAGEMENT TO SHOW DC THEIR BACKS BY RANK-AND-FILE OUTCRY OVER PSI DECISION TO DROP LOCKHEED CASE AGAINST RUMOR. RESULT WAS THAT NO SOCIALIST LEADER AT CONGRESS WANTED TO RISK ACCUSATION THAT HE CONTEMPLATED RETURN TO ALLIANCE WITH DC. EVEN AUTONOMISTS, WHOSE DISTRUST OF COMMUNISTS MAKES THEM DISPOSED TO COOPERATION WITH DC AND WHOSE PUBLIC POSITION IN FAVOR OF EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT FORMULA WAS IN FACT PROTRAYED BY CRITICS AS DISGUISED WAY OF CONTINUING TO DEAL WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS, WERE OBLIGED TO REPEAT FREQUENTLY THAT THEY CONSIDERED CENTER-LEFT ARRANGEMENT DEAD AND BURIED.

14. FACTOR THAT APPEARED TO STIFFEN MILAN PSI RESISTENCE AGAINST CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WAS STRENGTHENED STATE OF DC OVER PAST YEAR AND ALLEGED DC RETURN TO MORE RIGID POSITIONS. NUMBER OF SPEAKERS ON PSI LEFT CITED FEARED DC ONSLAUGHT AS

REASON FOR LEFT TO UNITE.

15. ANOTHER FACTOR THAT LOOMED LARGE IN ENDORSEMENT OF LEFTIST  
ALTERNATIVE STRATEGY WAS SURELY FEAR OF HISTORIC COMPROMISE,  
THOUGH LITTLE WAS SAID PUBLICLY ON SUBJECT. AS ONE  
DELEGATE TOLD US, PARTY IS COMPLETELY AGREED THAT DC-PCI  
COALITION WOULD SPELL DEATH FOR SOCIALISTS.  
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16. FINAL FACTOR IN PSI CHOICE IS THAT, ONCE COLLABORATION  
WITH DC EXCLUDED, THERE IS NO OTHER PLACE FOR SOCIALISTS  
TO GO EXCEPT WITH COMMUNISTS. AND EVEN AUTONOMISTS, WHO IN  
EFFECT ADVOCATED LIMITED COOPERATION WITH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS  
(I.E. IN EMERGENCY GOVERNMENT AND IN LOCAL ADMINISTRATIONS), EMPHA-  
SIZED THAT THEY CONSIDERED THIS ONLY PHASE ON WAY TO EVENTUAL  
RULING COALITION OF LEFT. WHETHER THEY BELIEVE THAT OR NOT  
ONE CAN ONLY GUESS. AT THE MOMENT, IT SEEMS DOUBTFUL.

17. ALL THIS COULD CHANGE. OVER HALF OF DELEGATES AT CONGRESS  
SUPPORTED AUTONOMISTS AND DEMARTIANIANI, WHO WOULD PROBABLY PREFER  
TO WORK WITH DC RATHER THAN WITH PCI. (DRAGONE'S LEFTIST  
LOMBARDIANI, MAJORITY'S REMAINING COMPONENT, SAID TO HAVE HAD  
ABOUT 8 PERCENT OF DELEGATES.) BUT IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEE  
WHAT MIGHT HAPPEN IN ITALY OR ELSEWHERE, TO ENABLE SOCIALISTS  
AND CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS TO WORK TOGETHER AGAIN IN VIEW OF THREAT  
OF SPLIT IN PSI THAT SUCH AN ALLIANCE WOULD NOW ALMOST  
GUARANTEE.

18. SO MILAN SOCIALISTS ARE LEFT WITH NATIONAL STRATEGY  
BOTH PHASES OF WHICH (I.E. EMERGENCY AND LEFTIST GOVERNMENTS)  
ARE UNREALIZABLE AS SITUATION STANDS NOW AND WITH ALLIES  
WHO ARE NOT ONLY DISTRUSTED BY MILAN'S STRONGEST SOCIALIST  
FACTION (AUTONOMISTS) BUT WHO SAY PUBLICLY THAT THEY WANT  
NO PART OF PSI'S PREFERRED STRATEGY. SOCIALISTS HERE HAVE  
RESISTED PRESSURE FROM THEIR OWN LEFT WING TO SCRAP CRAXI'S  
MEASURED APPROACH TO REBUILDING PARTY. BUT THAT PRESSURE  
HAS ONLY SUCCEEDED IN SHUNTING PSI CARAVAN OFF ONTO THEORETICAL  
ROAD WITH NO END IN SIGHT.FINA

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